The Homily of Zär'a Ya'əqob in Honour of St. John the Evangelist, EMML* 1480, ff. 48r-52v

I. Introduction

The homily under study belongs to the corpus of works ascribed to Emperor Zär'a Ya'əqob of Ethiopia (1434-1468)¹. As its description shows, this may in fact be said about almost the whole contents of EMML 14802, the Homily in honour of the Archangel Gabriel: History of the Old Testament Patriarchs; Gädlä Yostinos; Homiliary in honour of the Apostles, or the Tomarä təsbə't; Mäsəhafä bahrəy; the three introductory homilies of the Book of the Miracles of Mary or Visions of John Son of Thunder about the Miracles of Mary commonly known as Ra'avä tä'ammar; the hymn to the Blessed Virgin called Yəweddəsəwwa; Magnificat or Sälamä Gäbrə'el; and two additional homilies, the one under study and another on Saturday. These two homilies could actually be called treatises dealing with the theology of the Trinity, composed to refute "heresies" ascribed to the daring and articulate Zämika'elites who, probably even more than the Istifanosites, preoccupied the mind of Zär'a Ya'əqob for a long time. Since the discovery of the Mäsəhafä bərhan, and especially since its publication, we have gained a fairly good knowledge of the beliefs of Zämika'el, Gämaləyal, 'Asqa and their followers', even

* Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa/Collegeville, Minnesota. EMML 1480 is a microfilm of a manuscript (52 × 35 cm, 129 ff., 2 cols., 31-41 lines to a column) copied during the reign of Emperor Zär'a Ya'əqob, probably for the Monastery of Däbrä Maryam or Absadi in Qohayən, Säraye, Eritrea.

¹ For the list of works ascribed to Zär'a Ya'əqob, see, among others, A. Dillmann, "Über die Regierung, insbesondere die Kirchenordnung des Königs Zar'a-Jacob", Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1884, p. 26; J. Perruchon, (ed.), Les Chroniques de Zar'a Yâ'eqôb et de Ba'eda Mâryâm, Paris 1893, pp. 76-78; and K. Wendt, Das Maṣḥafa Milād (Liber Nativitatis) und Maṣḥafa Sellāsē (Liber Trinitatis) des Kaisers Zar'a Yā'qob, CSCO, vol. 221, script. aeth., t. 41 (1962), p. 1.

² Getatchew Haile, A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Ababa and for the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, Collegeville, Vol. IV: Project Numbers 1101-1500, Collegeville 1979, pp. 599-603; and id., "A Preliminary Investigation of the Tomarä təsbə't of Emperor Zär'a Ya'əqob of Ethiopia", BSOAS vol. 43/2 (1980), p. 211.

³ Conti Rossini and L. Ricci, Il libro della luce del Negus Zar'a Yā'qob (Maṣḥafa Berhān)

though this knowledge comes from the standpoint of their opponents, the established Church represented by the Emperor. There is also at least one miracle in the *Tä'ammərä Maryam* which deals directly with a member of this militant sect, *Abba* Giyorgis⁴. As far as I know, we do not yet have sources presenting the views of the sect's own adherents that can go back to the fifteenth century. Fortunately, however, we now have three of their writings, even though they belong to later generations ⁵.

It may be worth investigating whether there was any relationship among the so-called sects of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which challenged the stand of the official Church as expressed at the court of the Archbishop(s) or in the Episcopate and the Royal Camp. The structure of the Ethiopian Church was (and still is) such that each mother Däbr, or big monastery with its dependent daughter churches, was sufficiently independent, financially too, that it could lay down its own ecclessiastical rules or even to hold its own theological views. The most important factor that held these Adbarat together is the priesthood which is received from the Archbishop(s). It is not surprising, therefore, to read that "heretics" such as Abba Estifanos 6 or even Zämika'el and Fəre Mahəbär 7 were heads of (monastic) communities with their own Sər'atat, and nevertheless remained under the Apostolic authority of the Episcopate for their priesthood. There were monasteries which objected to the reading of the Book of the Miracles of Mary when this was ordered by Zär'a Ya'əqob and the Archbishops 8. Chants such as the Igzi'abher nägśä were challenged by individual monasteries9. The Ewostatewosites were threatened with excommunication only after the Council of Däbrä Mətmaq 10. It is in fact plausible to assume that differences in interpretations of theological issues did not always result in the rejection of the priestly authority of the clergy in the opposing sects. This was what

part I, CSCO vol. 250, *script aeth.* t. 47 (1964) and part II, *ibid.*, vol. 260, *script. aeth.*, t. 51 (1965); see specially pp. 126-131 of the last part (1965).

⁴ Tä'ammərä Maryam, bä-Gə'əz-ənna bä-Amarəñña, Täsfa edition, Addis Ababa 1961 E.C., pp. 132-136; and E. Cerulli, Il libro etiopico del miracoli di Maria e le sue fonte nella letterature del Medio Evo latino, Rome 1943, pp. 107-109.

⁵ E. Cerulli, Scritti teologici etiopici del secoli XVI-XVII: I Tre opuscoli del Mikaeliti, Studi e Testi, no. 198, 1958. For more on the Zämika'elites and their teachings, see E. Cerulli, Il libro, pp. 107-121.

⁶ Taddesee Tamrat, 'Some Notes on the Fifteenth Century Stephanite "Heresy" in the Ethiopian Church', *Rassegna di studi etiopici*, vol. 22 (1966), pp. 103-115.

⁷ Conti Rossini and L. Ricci, *Il libro della luce*, II, (text) p. 126 and E. Hammerschmidt, *Äthiopische Handschriften vom Tānāsee* 1, Wiesbaden 1973, p. 103, respectively.

⁸ Cerulli, Il libro, pp. 18-19.

⁹ Tä'ammərä Maryam, EMML 2058, f. 167^r and 175^v; EMML 2424, f. 94^r.

¹⁰ Getatchew Haile, "The Letter of the Archbishops Mika'el and Gäbrə'el Concerning the Observance of Saturday", JSSt, vol. 25, 1 (1981), pp. 73-78. On the council of Däbrä Məṭmaq, see Taddesse Tamrat, Church and State in Ethiopia, Oxford 1972, pp. 220-230.

had sometimes happened to the followers of *Abunä* Täklä Haymanot, the *Däbrä Libanosočč*, and of *Abunä* Ewostatewos or the Ewostatewesites: They were at odds first over the question of observing the Saturday Sabbath, and later over the theology of the Unction of Christ, but they normally, if not always, respected each other's priestly authority. This may be the reason why Mario da Abiy Addi' prefers to speak of "schools" rather than sects when discussing the views of Ethiopian theologians on the question of *qəbat*, "unction", of Our Lord 11. At any rate these sects of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have more in common with each other in their theological outlook than with the established Church.

This homily in honour of St. John the Evangelist reports two areas of theological controversy on which Emperor Zär'a Ya'əqob, representing the established Church, and Zämika'el, representing a small minority of probably Jewish background (? - they are never mentioned in connection with the controversy of observing Saturday Sabbath), could not come to agreement. The first part deals with the question of anthropomorphization of the persons in the Trinity: Has each person in the Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, a mälkə', "form", "figure", similar to that of man who was ultimately created after that image and likeness of God? According to the Nagus, yes; and according to the dissidents, no! The discussion of this question at a council, summoned obviously by the Emperor, has been reported in the Mäşəhafä bərhan12 in similar language, sometimes word for word, though not in as lengthy an account as this homily offers. Most importantly, this homily lists some of the important (ecclesiastical) dignitaries who attended this council where the Emperor dictated his views. As can be seen, his views are not only irreconcilable with those of his opponents but they are also in open disagreement with the Qälemontos, an apocryphal work but accepted by the Church, and the writings of Rətu'a Haymanot, who seems to have lived several decades before Zär'a Ya'əqob 13. The second part of the homily deals with the place of the incarnate Word, Christ, in the Trinity, now in heaven and later at his second coming appearing, according to the Emperor but not according to his opponents, "with the Father and the Holy Spirit" who are not incarnated. "The Homily in Honour of St. John the Evangelist", was composed to refute the teachings of the so-called Zämika'elites which may have been expressed, among other places, in the Anaphora of St. John Son of Thunder 14!

¹¹ Mario P. da Abiy-Addi', La Dottrina della Chiese Etiopica dissidente sull'Unione Ipostatica, OrChrA, no. 147, 1956, pp. 117-129.

¹² Conti Rossini and L. Ricci, Il libro della luce II (text), pp. 126-131.

 ¹³ Getatchew Haile, "Religious Controversies and the Growth of Ethiopic Literature in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", OrChr, vol. 65, 1981, pp. 102-136.
 14 Ibid.

With the exception of a few small changes that are noted, the text is copied as it appears in the manuscript. The punctuation, too, is reproduced as it is in the manuscript, except that signs of more than four dots have been reduced to four, and signs of two dots are supplied in a few blank spaces between words. Supplied letters, that are illegible in the manuscript, are indicated by square brackets. Expressions in the English translation that have been added to clarify the meaning but have no equivalent in the Gə´əz text are included in parentheses.

II. Text: EMML 1480, ff. 48^r-52^v

f. 48^r ምንባብ ፡ እምረቡው ፡ ለጥር ፡

በስመ ፡ ሕግዚአብሔር ፡ አብ ፡ ዘኢይትፈለጥ ፡ ሕምወልድ ፡ ወእመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወበስመ ፡ ሕግዚአብሔር ፡ ወልድ ፡ ዘኢይትፈለጥ ፡ ሕምአብ ፡ ወእ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወበስመ ፡ ሕግዚአብሔር ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ጰራቅሊጦስ ፡ ዘኢይትፈለጥ ፡ ሕምአብ ፡ ወወልድ ።

በጸውያ ፡ ዝንቱ ፡ አስማተ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ተጠመቅን ፡ ኵልን ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ አምከዊን ፡ ምድራዊያን ፡ ከመ ፡ ንትመየጥ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ከዊን ፡ ሰማያዊያን ፡ ወእ ምከዊን ፡ ሥጋዊያን ፡ ጎበ ፡ ከዊን ፡ መንፈሳዊያን ፡ ወእምከዊን ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ አዳም ፡ ጎበ ፡ ከዊን ፡ ውሉደ ፡ አግዚአብሔር ፡ እስመ ፡ ተውህበ ፡ ለን ፡ ስልጣን ፡ ለምእመናን ፡ ከመ ፡ ንኩን ፡ ውሉደ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ነጕድንድ ፡ በወንጌሉ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወለእለስ ፡ ተወክፍዎ ፡ ኵሎሙ ፡ እለ ፡ አምኑ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ ወሀቦሙ ፡ ስልጣን ፡ ውሉደ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ይኩኑ ፡ እለ ፡ አምኑ ፡ በስሙ ፡ እለ ፡ ኢኮኑ ፡ አምን ፡ ዘደም ፡ ወኢአምፌቃደ ፡ ፍትወተ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ወኢአምሥምረተ ፡ ¹ ብእሲ ፡ አላ ፡ እምእግዚአብሔር ፡ ተወልዱ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ አስማተ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ጸሐፍን ፡ ድርሳን ፡ ዘዮሐንስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ን ጕድንድ ፡

^{1.} MS " " 4+ :

በ ፡ ምድር ፡ ወዘ ፡ ታሕተ ፡ ምድር ፡ ወዘውስተ ፡ ባሕር ፡ ወተሉ ፡ ዘውስቴቶ ሙ ፡ ዘይገንዩ ፡ ለክልኤ ፡ ድንግልናሃ ፡ ለድንግልና ፡ ሕሊናሃ ፡ ወለ ፡ ድንግ ልና ፡ ሥጋሃ ፡ ተሰምየት ፡ እሞ ፡ ለዮሐንስ ፡፡ እስመ ፡ ፍቁር ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዮሐን ስ ፡ በጎቤሃ ፡ ወበጎበ ፡ ወልዳ ፡ ፈድፋደ ፡ እምካልአኒሁ ፡፡ ብፁዕ ፡ አንተ ፡ ኦዮ ሐንስ ፡ ዘተሰምየት ፡ እመከ ፡ ማርያም ፡ እግዝእትከ ፡ አኮ ፡ ዘወለደተከ ፡ በ ሥጋ ፡ በከመ ፡ ወለደቶ ፡ ለወልዳ ፡ ዋሕድ ፡ እንበለ ፡ ዘርእ ፡ በድንባልናሃ ፡፡ አላ ፡ ወለደታከ ፡ በፍቅር ፡ ወታሰምየት ፡ እመከ ፡ በኋራተ ፡ እግዚእከ ፡ እምቀዲ ሙ ፡ ዘአፍቀረከ ፡ ፈድፋደ ፡ እምካልአኒከ ፡ ዘአርፈቀከ ፡ ዲበ ፡ እንግድዐሁ ፡ 6.48° አመ ፡ ድራር ። ወካዕበ ፡ ኢያንተገ ፡ አፍቅሮተከ ፡ በጊዜ ፡ ሕ/ጣሙ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ቅንው ፡ ውእቱ ፡ በዲበ ፡ መስቀል ፡ አማኅፀነከ ፡ ኅበ ፡ እሙ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይብል ፡ ነዋ ፡ ወልድኪ ። ወለከኒ ፡ ይቤለከ ፡ ነያ ፡ እምከ ። ናሁኬ ፡ አእመርነ ፡ ከመ ፡ ልድፋደ ፡ ያፈቅረከ ፡ እምኵሉ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ እስመ ፡ ለከ ፡ ለባሕቲትከ ፡ አማ ኅፀነከ ፡ ኅበ ፡ እሙ ፡ በጊዜ ፡ ሕጣሙ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይቀውጣ ፡ ምስሌከ ፡ እኅታ ፡ ለእሙ ፡ ወጣርያ ፡ እንተ ፡ ቀለዮጳ ፡ ወጣርያም ፡ መጣደላዊት ። አዮሐንስ ፡ ድ ንባል ፡ ወካህን ፡ ነዓ ፡ ኀቤነ ፡ ዮም ፡ ከመ ፡ ታርውየነ ፡ እምሐሊበ ፡ ወንጌል ከ *፡፡ ንኅሥሥ ፡* አምኅቤከ ፡ ወንሴአለከ ፡ *ንግረ*ን ፡፡ ምንት ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘትቤ ፡ በወንጌልከ ። ለእግዚአብሔርስ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘርእዮ ፡ ግሙራ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ዋሕድ ፡ ዘሀሎ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ሕፅን ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ነገረነ ፡ እስመ ፡ በዝንቱ ፡ ምክንያ ተ፡ቃልከ፡ይቤሉ፡ዘሚካኤል፡ወገማልያል፡ወዓጽቃ፡አልቦቱ፡ለችግዚ አብሔር ፡ መልክዕ ፡ ከመ ፡ መልክዕ ፡ ሰብች # ኢንብሮ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለ መልክዐ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ ለአዳም ። ዘይትገሰስ ፡ ወዘያስተርኢ ፡ በአርአያ ፡ ዚአ ሁ፡ ወበ፡ አምሳሊሁ ፡፡ አርአያሁሰ፡ ወአምሳሊሁ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር፡ መን ፈስ ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ዘኢያስተርኢ ፡ ዘተነፍጎ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ንጹ ፡ ለአዳም ። በከ*መ* ፡ ይቤ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ በወንጌሉ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔርስ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘርእዮ ፡ ግሙራ ፡ እ ግዚአብሔርሰኬ ፡ ኢያስተርኢ ፡ ወአልቦቱ ፡ መልክዐ ፡ ዘይአምሮ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ለሊሁ ፡ የአምር ፡ መልክዖ ። ወለነፍስኔ ፡ አልባቲ ፡ መልክዐ ፡ ዘየአምሮ ፡ ሰ ብእ፡ ወኢ ፡ ታስተርኢሂ ፡ እስመ ፡ አምሳሊሁ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ይእቲ ። ወአንተሰ ፡ አ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ኢትቤ ፡ ከመዝ ፡ አልቦቱ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ መ ልክዕ ። በከመ ፡ ይቤሉ ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ አላ ፡ ትቤ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔርስ ፡ አልቦ ፡

ዘርእዮ ፡ ባሙራ ፡፡ እሙን ፡ ውእቱ ፡ ቃልከ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘርእዮ ፡ ባሙራ ፡ ለእ ባዚአብሔር ፡ በፍጹም ፡ ግርጣ ፡ መለኮቱ ። ወባሕቱ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ መልክዐ ፡ ከ መ ፡ ሰብች ፡ ለባሕርየ ፡ መለኮቱ ፡ ዘኢያስተርኢ ፡ ወበችንተ ፡ ኢያስተርችዮ ፡ ባሕሬየ : (sic) መለኮቱስ : ለእግዚአብሔር : እሙን : ይቤ : ወንጌላዊ : ንጹሕ : ለችግዚአብሔርስ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘርእዮ ፡ ግሙራ ፡ ወለሊሁኒ ፡ ችግዚአብሔር ፡ ይቤ ው ፡ ለሙሴ ፡ አመ ፡ ይቤው ፡ አርእየኒ ፡ ስብሐቲከ ፡ ኢትክል ፡ ርእዮተ ፡ ገጽ የስ ፡ እስመ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ዘይሬኢ ፡ ገጽየ ፡ ወየሐዩ ። ወጳውሎስኒ ፡ ይቤ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ባሕርየ ፡ መለኮቱ ፡ ለአምላክን ፡ ዘኢያስተርኢ ፡ ወኢይትአመር ፡ ለ ሰብእ ፡ ወለመላእክት ። እግዚአብሔርስ ፡ ኢያስተርኢ ፡ እምፍጥረተ ፡ ዓለ ም ። ወባሕቱ ፡ ይትዐወቅ ፡ ወእምግባሩ ፡ ነአምሮ ፡ ወርእሶስ ፡ ለሊሁ ፡ የአ ምር ፡ መለኮቶ ፡ ከመ ፡ ኢይርከቡ ፡ በዘ ፡ ይትዋሥእዎ ። ወካሪበ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ጳው ሎስ ፡ ለመምቴዎስ ፡ ዕቀብ ፡ ትእዛዞ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ በንጽሕ ፡ እስከ ፡ ምጽአቱ ፡ ለእግዚእን ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ዘያስተርኢ ፡ በዕድሜሁ ፡ ዘባሕ ቲቱ ፡ ብፁዕ ፡ ወጎያል ፡ ንጉሠ ፡ ነገሥት ፡ እግዚአ ፡ አጋእዝት ፡ ወአምላከ ፡ አማልክት ። ወቦቱ ፡ ብርሃን ፡ ዘኢይጠፍእ ፡ ዘእምቅድመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ዘአልቦ ፡ ዘርእዮ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወአልቦ ፡ ዘይክል ፡ ርእዮቶ ። ዘሎቱ ፡ ክብር ፡ ወጎይል ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓለም ፡ አሜን ። ወለነፍስኒ ፡ ባቲ ፡ መልክዐ ፡ ከመ ፡ መልክ በ : ስጋሃ : ወኢ ኮንት : ዘእንበለ : መልክዕ :

ይቤ ፡ ዘሚካኤል ፡ በቅ/ድመ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ወበቅድመ ፡ ካህናት ፡ ደብተ ራ ፡ አልቦቱ ፡ መልክዕ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ከመ ፡ መልክዕ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወተናገረ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ እምአሪት ፡ ወእምነቢያት ፡ እምወንጌል ፡ ወእምሐዋር ያት ፡ ከመ ፡ ቦቱ ፡ መልክዕ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ከመ ፡ መልክዕ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ እስ መ ፡ በአርአያሁ ፡ ወበ ፡ አምሳሊሁ ፡ ገብሮ ፡ ለሰብእ ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ለገ መልያል ፡ ፍታሕኬ ፡ ማእከሌነ ፡ ወማእከለ ፡ ዘሚካኤል ፡ በከመ ፡ ሰማዕከ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ ገማልያል ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይስምው ፡ ቀሲስ ፡ ሐጸይ ፡ ዘካርያስ ፡ ወጸናርግ ፡ ማሰሬ ፡ ተስፋ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ወሊቀ ፡ ደብተራ ፡ ቢፋሞን ፡ ወዐቃቤ ፡ ሰዓት ፡ አምኃ ፡ ለጽዮን ፡ ወይቶት ፡ ዘደብተራ ፡ ኪራኮስ ፡ ወበ ፡ ጎይለ ፡ ጽዮን ፡ ወዐ ምደ ፡ ሚካኤል ፡ ወዘርአ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ ወዮሐኒ ፡ ወባሮክ ፡ እጉሁ ፡ ወገባሬ ፡ ሁናያትሂ ፡ ገብረ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ ወሕዝበ ፡ አንበሳ ፡ ወሕዝበ ፡ ጽዮን ፡ ወነአም ን ፡ በአብ ፡ ወዘ ፡ ዲያቆናት ፡ ይቶት ፡ ተጠምቀ ፡ መድኅን ፡ ወተክለ ፡ ኢየሱ

ስ ፡ ወንብረ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወሳሙኤል ፡ አይባስ ፡ እከአብ ፡ ወዜና ፡ ንብ ርኤል ፡ ወገደ ፡ አንበሳ ፡ ወበጎይለ ፡ ጊዮርጊስ ፡ ወኵሎሙ ፡ ዲያቆናት ፡ ወኵ ሎሙ : ካሀናተ : ደብተራ : ወዘ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ጠበቂ ፡ (sic) ይቶት ፡ ክር ስቶስ ፡ ኅሬ ፡ ወፍሬ ፡ መስቀል ፡ ወእምን ፡ ግብጻዊያንሂ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ዘበራራ ፡ ዘሲመይ ፡ ወይተባረክ ፡ ንቡረ ፡ እድ ፡ ዘወጊ ፡ ወፍሬ ፡ ካህን ፡ መራሒ ፡ ዘደ ብረ ፡ ነጐድጓድ ፡ አንሰ ፡ ኅበርኩ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ዘሚካኤል ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ወን **ጌ**ል ፡ ለእግዚአብሔርስ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘርእዮ ፡ ግሙራ ፡ ወእመስ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘርእ ዮ፡ ግሙራ፡ መነኬ፡ ይመስል፡ አብል፡ ወይቤሎ፡ ንጉሥ፡ ጸናሪከኑ፡ በዝ፡ ቃል ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ አወ ፡ ጸናዕኩ ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ኢትትካጎደነኬ ። ወ ይቤ ፡ ኢይትከሐደከ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ *ንጉሥ* ፡ ስም*ዑ* ፡ ሊተ ፡ ካህናተ ፡ ደብተራ ፡ ከ መ ፡ ኢይትካሐደኒ ፡ ወይቤልዎ ፡ ሰማሪነ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ኢታ ሰገወኑ ፡ ወኢተወልደኑ ፡ በፍጹም ፡ መልክዐ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ኢልሀቀኑ ፡ በበ ፡ ሕ ቅ፡ እስከ፡ ኮን፡ ከመ፡ ዐቅመ፡ ብእሲ፡ ፍጹም ፡፡ ኢጾረኑ፡ ሕጣመ፡ በእንቲ አን ፡ ኢተኰርዐኑ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ በሕለት ። ኢተሰቅለኑ ፡ ዲበ ፡ መስቀል ። ኢተቀ ነወኑ ፡ ሕደዊሁ ፡ ወእገሪሁ ፡ በቅንዋት # ኢስትየኑ ፡ ብሒአ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሐም ት ፣ ኢዋዕመኑ ፣ ሞተ ፣ በሥጋ ፣ ወኢተረግዘኑ ፣ ነቦሁ ፣ በኲናት ፣ ወኢተቀ f. 49° ብረኑ ፡ ውስተ ፡ / መቃብር ። ወኢተንሥአኑ ፡ እምውታን ፡ ወኢዓርነኑ ፡ ² ውስተ ፡ ሰማያት # ወኢንበረኑ ፡ በየማን ፡ አብ # ወእመስ ፡ ነበረ ፡ በየማን ፡ አብ ፡ ወልደ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ በፍጹም ፡ መልክዐ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ዘነሥአ ፡ እም ፍጽምት ፡ ድንግል ። መልክዕ ፡ አብ ፡ ወመልክዕ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አ*ሥ* ድ ፡ ወሚመ ፡ ኢይመስልዎ ።

ወሶበ ፡ ሰምዐ ፡ ገማልያል ፡ ደንገፀ ፡ ወተጎፍረ ፡ ወኢረከበ ፡ ³ ፍኖተ ፡ ጎገ ር ፡ ዘይመይጥ ፡ ሎቱ ፡ ለንጉሥ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ ካዕበ ፡ ንጉሥ ፡ ወእመሰ ፡ ትቤ ፡ ኢ ይመስልዎ ፡ ኮንከ ፡ ውጹአ ፡ እምሕግ ፡ ወኢይደልወከ ፡ በዊአ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቤ ተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ወተመጥዎ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ ወደሙ ፡ ለዘ ፡ ተሠገወ ፡ ጎይል ፡፡ እ ስመ ፡ አባእከ ፡ ተውሳከ ፡ ዲበ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ መልክዐ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ዘኢይመስሎሙ ፡ ለ

² MS @h. : 96"

³ MS "hn:

መልክ0 ፡ 4 አብ ፡ ወለመልክ0 ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ወኮንከ ፡ ሱታፌሆሙ ፡ ውስተ : ልብከ ። ወልድስ : በመልክዐ : መለከቱ : ይመስሎሙ : ለአብ : ወ ለ : መንፈስ : ቅዱስ : ወበ : መልክዐ : ትስብኢቱስ : ኢይመስሎሙ ። ናሁቤ : ረሰይኮ : ክልኤ : አካለ : ለወልድ : ዋሕድ : ዘበእንቲአሁ : ይቤ : ዮሐንስ : ወንጌላዊ ፡ ነጻሬ ፡ ኅቡአት ፡ ወነባቤ ፡ 6 መለኮት ። ወውእቱ ፡ ቃል ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ከን : ወጎደረ : ሳዕሌን : ወሰወረ : እምኔን : ወርኢን : ስብሐቲሁ : hመ : ስብ ሐተ፡ δዋሕድ፡ ለአቡሁ ። ናሁኬ፡ ወ9እከ፡ እምወንጌለ፡ መንግሥት፡ ዘ ይኤውዕ : መሃይምናን : ጎበ : ከብካበ : 7 መርዓ : ሰማያዊ : ዘኢይጎልፍ # ጎሥሃሙ ፡ አንተስ ፡ ለማኅበረ ፡ ከልቄዶን ፡ ሱቱፋን ፡ ሃይማኖትከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ታንኰርኵር ፡ ምስሌሆሙ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ቀላየ ፡ 1ሃንም ፡ አመ ፡ ይቤሎሙ ፡ ወል ድ ፡ ዋሕድ ፡ ሐሩ ፡ እምኔየ ፡ ርጉማን ፡ ውስተ ፡ እሳት ፡ ዘለዓለም ፡ ዘድልው፡ ለሰይጣን ፡ ወለመላእክቲሁ ። ንሕነስ ፡ ነአምንሂ ፡ ወንሚህርሂ ፡ ሥሉስ ፡ በ f. 50° ግጻዌ ፡ እንበለ ፡ ተ/ውሳክ ፡ ወ፩በምልክና ፡ ወበ ፡ ስልጣን ፡ በንግሥ ፡ ወ በምኵናን ፡ እንበለ ፡ ፍልጠት ። ለአብኒ ፡ አልቦቱ ፡ 8 ካልአ ፡ መልክዐ ፡ ዘእ ንበለ ፡ መልክዐ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ እስመ ፡ በአርአያሁ ፡ ወበአምሳሊሁ ፡ ንብሮ ፡ ለሰ ብእ። ወለወልድኒ ፡ መልክው ፡ ከመ ፡ መልክወ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ውእቱ ። ወመልክወ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስኒ ፡ ከመ ፡ መልክዐ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ውእቱ ። ዕሩያን ፡ በ አካል ፡ እንበለ ፡ ተገምሮ ፡ ወስፉሐን ፡ እንበለ ፡ ተደንባት ። ፩ራእዮሙ ፡ ወ፩ ብርሃኖሙ ፡ ወኔመስኮቶሙ ፡ ወኔመንግሥቶሙ ። ወ፮ሕሊናሆሙ ።

መወልድኒ ፡ ፩ዘእምሥላሴ ፡ ⁹ አመ ፡ ፈቀደ ፡ ይኩን ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ለመድጎኒተ ፡ ዓለም ፡ ኢጎደረ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ካልእ ፡ ¹⁰ መልክዕ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ጎበ ፡ መልክዕ ፡ ሰ ብእ ፡ ዘገብረ ፡ ቀዲሙ ፡ በአርአያሁ ፡ ወበአምሳሊሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይትፈጸም ፡ ዘ ተብህለ ፡ በአሪት ፡ ወይቤ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ናሁ ፡ አዳም ፡ ኮን ፡ ከመ ፡ ፩እም ኔን ፡፡ ናሁኬ ፡ አቅደመ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ነጊረ ፡ በእንተ ፡ ተዋሕዶተ ፡ ትስ ብእት ፡ ምስለ ፡ መለኮት ፡፡ ወዮሐንስኒ ፡ ይቤ ፡ በርእስ ፡ መጽሐፉ ፡ እንዘ ፡

⁴ MS Amho :

⁵ MS "++h:

⁶ MS "nn:

⁷ MS h"

⁸ MS "11 :

⁹ MS "ለሴ :

¹⁰ MS h"

ያኅብር ፡ ቃለ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አሪት ። ወውእቱ ፡ ቃል ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ኮነ ። ወበእንተ ፡መ ልክዐ : ሥጋሁስ : ለአዳም : ዘይትገሰስ : ወዘይትረአይ : ዘከመ : ገብሮ : እግዚ አብሔር ፡ በአርአያሁ ፡ ወአምሳሊሁ ፡ ታየድዕ ፡ ቅድስት ፡ አሪት ፡ እንዘ ፡ ትብል ፡ ወይቤ ፡ ሕግዚአብሔር ፡ ንግበር ፡ ሰብአ ፡ በአርአያን ፡ ¹¹ ወበአምሳሊን ። ወ ዓዲ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ወንብሮ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለእ3ለ ፡ እመሕያው ፡ በአምሳለ ፡ እ ባዚአብሔር ። ወካሪበ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያጤይቅ ፡ መልክዐ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ ለአዳ ም ፡ ዘተንብረ ፡ አመሬተ ፡ ምድር ፡ ከመ ፡ አርአያሁ ፡ ወአምሳሊሁ ፡ ለእግዚ አብሔር ፡ ውእቱ ። ወንብሮ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ለሰብእ ፡ እምነ ፡ መሬተ ፡ ም ድር ፡ ናሁኬ ፡ ለመልክዕ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ ለአዳም ፡ ዘንብሮ ፡ አመሬተ ፡ ምድር ፡ ሰመዮ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ አርአያሁ ፡ ወአምሳሊሁ # ወእምድኅረ ፡ ኀቢር ፡ አ ትለወ ፡ ንፍጎተ ፡ እስመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ወነፍጎ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ገጹ ፡ መንፈስ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ ወኮን ፡ እንለ ፡ እመሕያው ፡ በመንፈስ ፡ ¹² ሕይወት ። ወበመጽሐፈ ፡ ኩፋ ሴኒ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያርኢ ፡ ከመ ፡ መልክ0 ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ ለአዳም ፡ ዘተገብረ ፡ በደመ ፡ ነፍስ ፡ ዘይመውት ፡ ሶበ ፡ ይትከዐው ፡ ደሙ ፡ በዘ ፡ ኮነ ፡ ቀትል ፡ ተገብረ ፡በመ ልክ0 ፡ እግዚአብሔር # ይቤ ፡ እ/ግዚአብሔር ፡ እምውስተ ፡ እደ ፡ ነተሉ ፡ ሰ ብእ ፡ ኢትጎሠስ ፡ ለደመ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወኵሉ ፡ ዘይክው ፡ ደመ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ወደሙ ፡ ይትከዐው ፡ እስመ ፡ በመልክዐ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ገብሮ ፡ ለአዳም ፡ ወሐዋ ርያትሂ ፡ ፲ወ፪ምስለ ፡ ጳውሎስ ፡ ሱታፌሆሙ ፡ 13 ከኑ ፡ ስምዐ ። ከመ ፡ ተሉ ፡ መልክዐ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ተገብረ ፡ በመልክዐ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ወይ ቤሉ ፡ በዲድስቅልያሆሙ ። ወባሕቱ ፡ ኢመፍትው ፡ ለነ ፡ ንላጺ ፡ ጽሕመነ ፡ ወኢንወልጥ ፡ 14 ፍጥረተ ፡ ብእሲ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ካልእ ፡ ባዕዝ ፡ ወእመሰ ፡ ትን ብር ፡ ከመዝ ፡ ኮንከ ፡ ውፁአ ፡ እምኅባ ፡ ወርኅቀ ፡ እምእባዚአብሔር ፡ ዘል ጠረከ ፡ በአርአያሁ ፡ ወበአምሳሊሁ # ¹⁵ ወጳውሎስኒ ፡ በመልእክቱ ፡ ለብ ሔረ ፡ ቆሮንቶስ ፡ ቀዳማይ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያርኢ ፡ ከመ ፡ መልክዐ ፡ ሥጋሁ ፡ ለብ እሲ ፡ ተንብረ ፡ በመልክ0 ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ይቤ ፡ ወብእሲኒ ፡ ኢኮን ፡ ርቱዕ ፡ ይትገልበብ ፡ ርእሶ ፡ ሶበ ፡ ይኤሊ ፡ እስመ ፡ አምሳሉ ፡ ወአርአያሁ ፡ ለአግዚ አብሔር ፡ ውእቱ ።

¹¹ MS "97 :

¹² MS "ሱ (?)

¹³ MS 1++"

¹⁴ MS @h. : 3"

¹⁵ MS "ስሲሁ #

ፕሆሴ ፡ ነገራ ፡ መጻሕፍተ ፡ ¹⁶ ብሊት ፡ ወሐዳስ ፡ ከመ ፡ መልክዐ ፡ ሥጋ ሁ ፡ ለሰብአ ፡ ዘይትረአይ ፡ ወዘይትገሰስ ፡ ተገብረ ፡ በመልክዐ ፡ እግዚአብ ሔር ፡ ጎቡአ ፡ ዘኢያስተርኢ ፡ ወኢይትገሰስ ፡ ለባሕርየ ፡ መለኮቱስ ፡ ለአም ላክን ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘርእዮ ፡ ግሙራ ፡ በግርማ ፡ መለኮቱ ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ዮሐ ንስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ነጕድጓድ ፡ ለአግዚአብሔርስ ፡ አልቦ ፡ ዘርእዮ ፡ ግሙራ ፡ ወ ለሊሁኒ ፡ ወልደ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ይቤ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይነግር ፡ በኢንተ ፡ ባሕርየ ፡ መለኮቱ ፡ ለአቡሁ ፡ ዘኢርእዮ ፡ ወኢመትሂ ፡ ወአልቦ ፡ ዘርእዮ ፡ ለእግዚአብ ሔር ፡ አብ ፡ ዘአንበለ ፡ ዘአምጎቤሁ ፡ ለአግዚአብሔር ፡ ውሕቱ ፡ ወውሕቱ ፡ ርእዮ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ወበእንተ ፡ ¹⁷ መልክዐ ፡ መለኮቱስ ፡ ለአቡሁ ፡ ከመ ፡ ይመስ ሎ ፡ ለመልክዐ ፡ ሰብአ ፡ ዘለብሶ ፡ ወልድ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያርኢ ፡ ¹⁸ አመ ፡ ይ ቤሎ ፡ ፌልጶስ ፡ እግዚአ ፡ አርእየናሁ ፡ ለአብ ፡ ወይአክለን ፡ ወይቤሎ ፡ እግ ዚአ ፡ ኢየሱስ ፡ መጠንዝ ፡ መዋዕለ ፡ ሀሎኩ ፡ ምስሌክሙ ፡ ወኢየአመርክሙ ኒ ፡ (sic) ፌልጶስ ፡ ዘርእየ ፡ ኪያየ ፡ ርእዮ ፡ ለአብዮ ፡

ኅድጉኬ ፡ ዘንተ ፡ ትምህርተ ፡ እለ ፡ ትብሎ ፡ ኢተገብረ ፡ መልክዕ ፡ ሥጋ ሁ ፡ ለአዳም ፡ በመልክዕ ፡ እግዚብሔር ፡ መልክዕ ፡ ሥጋሁስ ፡ ለአዳም ፡ አር አያሁ ፡ ወአምሳሊሁ ፡ ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ሙእቱ ፡ ወንዑ ፡ አሚነን ፡ በአሐቲ ፡ ሃይማኖት ፡ / ወአርዩን ፡ ልበ ፡ በ፩ሕሊና ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ሐዋርያ ፡ ወማሕ ለቅቱስ ፡ ለኵሉ ፡ ከመ ፡ ተአርዩ ፡ ልበ ፡ በአሐዱ ፡ ሕሊና ፡ ንጹውያ ፡ ለዮሐ ንስ ፡ ወንጌላዊ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ንብል ፡ በ፩ቃል ፡ ነዓ ፡ ጎቤን ፡ ዮም ፡ አመ ፡ በዕ ልከ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ነጕድጓድ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ቴዎንሎስ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ አቡቀለ ምሲስ ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ፍቁረ ፡ እግዚእ ፡ ወነቢይ ፡ ረአዬ ፡ ጎቡአት ፡ ዮሐንስ ፡ ድን ግል ፡ ወካህን ፡ ነዓ ፡ ጎቤን ፡ ዮም ፡ በዛቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ ዐባይ ፡ በዐልከ ፡ ከመ ፡ ትጹ ግወን ፡ በረከተከ ፡ ለእለ ፡ ንጹውዕ ፡ ስመከ ፡ ወለእለ ፡ ንገብር ፡ ተዝካረከ ፡ ነዓ ፡ ጎቤን ፡ ዮም ፡ ከመ ፡ ትመዋወን ፡ ፌቲተከ ፡ ጎብስተ ፡ ሕይወት ፡ በእደ ዊከ ፡ ቅዱሳት ፡ ወቀዲሐከ ፡ ደመ ፡ መለኮት ፡ ለዘ ፡ በልዖ ፡ ወለዘ ፡ ስትዮ ፡ ዘ ይሁብ ፡ ሕይወተ ፡ ዘለዓለም ፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚእከ ፡ ዘበልዐ ፡ ሥጋየ ፡ ወስትየ ፡ ደምየ ፡ ቦሕይወተ ፡ ዘለዓለም ፡ ወአን ፡ አንሥአ ፡ በደጎሪት ፡ ዕለት ፡

¹⁶ MS "가:

¹⁷ MS @Q." (?)

¹⁸ The sentence is probably corrupt.

ዘሎቱ ፡ ስብሐት ፡ ምስለ ፡ ኄር ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ለዓለመ ፡ ዓ ለም ፡ አሜን ፡

ንግባአኬ ፡ ጎበ ፡ ቀዳሚ ፡ ነገር ፡ በእንተ ፡ ዕልወቱ ፡ ለዘሚካኤል ፡ ከመ ፡
ንንግር ፡ ዘለፋሁ ፡ እስመ ፡ ክሕደ ፡ ገጸ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ወይቤ ፡ አልቦቱ ፡ መልክዕ ፡
ለእግዚአብሔር ፡ ወሰብእኒ ፡ ኢተገብረ ፡ በመልክዕ ፡ እግዚአብሔር # ወበ
አንተዝ ፡ ይቤ ፡ በዕበደ ፡ ልቡ ፡ በውስተ ፡ ጸሎት ፡ ዘሥርዕ ፡ በቤተ ፡ ክርስቲ
ያኑ # ወእንዘ ፡ ይቄድስ ፡ ይብል ፡ ፫ጊዜ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ በከመ ፡
ሰምዕ ፡ እምጎበ ፡ ነቢያት ፡ እለ ፡ ጸሐፉ ፡ ሰሚያሙ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይቄድስዎ ፡ መላ
አክት ፡ ሥልሰ ፡ ለሥሉስ ፡ ቅዱስ # ወውእቱስ ፡ ኢይአምን ፡ ሥላሴሁ ፡ ለስ
ሉስ ፡ በግጻዌ ፡ ወበመልክዕ # ወእንዘ ፡ ይትካሓዶ ፡ ለሥሉስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ለዘ ፡
ይቤ ፡ ንግበር ፡ ሰብአ ፡ በአርአያነ ፡ ወበ ፡ አምሳሊነ ፡ ከመ ፡ ናእምር ፡ ንሕነ ፡
ከመ ፡ በመልክዕ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ተፈጠርነ # ዘሚካኤልስ ፡ ዕልው ፡ እን
ዘ ፡ ይክሕድ ፡ መልክዕ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ተፈጠርነ # ዘሚካኤልስ ፡ ዕልው ፡ እን
ዘ ፡ ይክሕድ ፡ መልክዕ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡ ዘህሎ ፡ ላዕለ ፡ ሰብእ # ይቤ ፡ በአር
እዮ ፡ ፍጥረታት ፡ ኢይትማስል # ወካዕበ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይክሕድ ፡ ግጻዌ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡
ይቤ ፡ ወበአንጽዎ ፡ ኢይትካህል #

ወሕመስ ፡ አልቦቱ ፡ መልክዐ ፡ ለሕግዚአብሔር ፡ በመልክዐ ፡ መኑኬ ፡ ጎደ
ረ ፡ ወልደ ፡ ሕግዚአብሔር ፡ ውስተ ፡ ማኅፀና ፡ ለድንግል ፡ ወበመልክዐ ፡ መኑ፡
ለብሶ ፡ ለመልክዐ ፡ ሰብሕ ፡፡ ወሕመስ ፡ ካልሕ ፡ መልክዐ ፡ መለኮቱ ፡፡ ለወል
ደ ፡ ሕግዚአብሔር ፡ ወካልሕ ፡ መልክዐ ፡ ተስብሕቱ ፡ ወለሕመ ፡ ኢተዋሐደ ፡
መልክዐ ፡ መለ/ኮቱ ፡ ወተስብሕቱ ፡ ለወልደ ፡ ሕግዚአብሔር ፡፡ በከመ ፡ ይቤ ፡
ዘሚካኤል ፡ ዕልው ፡ ናሁኬ ፡ ተወሰከ ፡ ¹⁹ ዲበ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ራብዐይ ፡ መልክዐ ፡
ተስብሕት ፡፡ ወንሕነስ ፡ ደቂቀ ፡ ትምህርቶሙ ፡ ለነቢያት ፡ ወለሐዋርያት ፡
ንብል ፡ ገብሮ ፡ ለአዳም ፡ ቀዲሙ ፡ በመልክዐ ፡ መለኮቱ ፡ በአርአያሁ ፡ ወበ
አምሳሊሁ ፡፡ ወአመ ፡ ፈቀደ ፡ ተሰብአ ፡ ለብሰ ፡ ሕማርያም ፡ መልክዐ ፡ ሰብሕ ፡
ዘገብረ ፡ ቀዲሙ ፡ በአርአያሁ ፡ ወበአምሳሊሁ ፡ ወኮን ፡ ፩አካለ ፡ በመለኮቱ ፡
ወበ ፡ ትስብሕቱ ፡፡

ወከመስ ፡ ገብሮ ፡ ለአዳም ፡ በአርአያሁ ፡ ወበአምሳሊሁ ፡ እም፬ጠባይዕ ፡ ስማዕ ፡ ዘይቤ ፡ በመጽሐፈ ፡ መቃብያን ፡ ወነሥአ ፡ እመሬተ ፡ ምድር ፡ በእ ደዊሁ ፡ ቅዱሳት ፡ ወቶስሐ ፡ ማየ ፡ ወእሳተ ፡ ወነፋስ ፡ ወፈጠሮ ፡ ለአዳም ፡ በ

ወዓዲ ፡ ይቤ ፡ ዘሚካኤል ፡ ዕልው ፡ ምስለ ፡ ዓጽቃ ፡ መስተካሕድ ፡ ይመጽ እ ፡ ወልድ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያስተርኢ ፡ በሥጋዌሁ ፡ አብሰ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ኢ ያስተርኢዩ ፡ ወኢይትዐወቁ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ በሕሊና ፡ ወዘንተ ፡ ይብሎ ፡ እንዘ ፡ የዐቢዩ ፡ አበ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ አምወልድ ፡ ኢለቢዎሙ ፡ ከመ ፡ ዕሩያ ን ፡ ²º እሙንቱ ፡ አብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ፍልጠት ፡ ወምሉአን ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ ሕጻት ፡ ወንሕንስ ፡ ንአምን ፡ ምጽአቶ ፡ ለወልድ ፡ ምስለ ፡ አቡሁ ፡ ወቅዱስ ፡ መንፈሱ ፡ ይኰንን ፡ ሕያዋን ፡ ²¹ ወምውታን ፡ በከ f. 52′ መ ፡ ይቤ ፡ እግዚአን ፡ በማቴዎስ ፡ / ወንጌላዊ ፡ ትሬአይዎ ፡ ለወል[ደ ፡] እንለ ፡ ኢመሕያው ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይንብ[ር ፡] በየማን ፡ ጎይል ፡ ወእንዘ ፡ ይመ[ጽ] እ ፡ በደመና ፡ ሰማይ ፡ ወዓዲ ፡ ይቤ ፡ [በ]ማርቆስ ፡ ወንጌላዊ ፡ ወናሁ ፡ ት [ሬ]ኢይዎ ፡ ለወልደ ፡ እንለ ፡ ኤመሕያ[ው] ፡ እንዘ ፡ ይንብር ፡ በየማን ፡ ጎይ [ሺ] ፡ ወይመጽእ ፡ በደመና ፡ ሰማይ ፡ [ወ]ካዕበ ፡ ይቤ ፡ በሎቃስ ፡ ወንጌላ [ዊ] ፡ እምይእዜስ ፡ ትሬእይዎ ፡ ለወ[ል]ደ ፡ እንለ ፡ ኤመሕያው ፡ ይንብር ፡ [በ]የማን ፡ ጎይለ ፡ እግዚአብሔር ፡

ወበእንተሂ ፡ አስተርእዮተ ፡ መለ[ኮ]ቱ ፡ ለክርስቶስ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ እሉ ፡ ዕ [ል]ዋን ፡ በአርስሓስሐ ፡ ልቦሙ ፡ ወ[መ]ለኮትስ ፡ ኢያስተርኢ ፡ ግሙራ ፡[ዘ] እንበለ ፡ ሥጋ ፡ ባሕቲቱ ፡ ዘነሥ[አ] ፡ እምኔን ፡፡ ወዘንተ ፡ ይሜህሩ ፡ [ለ]ውሉ ደ ፡ ቤተ ፡ ክርስቲያን ፡ ተመ[ሲ]ሎሙ ፡ ልብዋን ፡ መጽሐፍ ፡፡ [እ]ስመ ፡ ተደ ብየ ፡ አዕይንተ ፡ ልቦሙ ፡ [በጸበለ ፡] ስሕተቱ ፡ ለሰይጣን ፡ ከ[መ ፡ ኢይርአ] ዩ ፡ ወኢያእምሩ ፡ ዘ[ተብህለ] ፡ በሲኖዶስ ፡ ዘበ፰ወ፯[ት]እዛዝ ፡ እንተ ፡

²⁰ MS 04.87 :

²¹ MS APP: , with p inserted later.

ይእቲ ፡ ተፈሥሑ ፡ [ውሉ]ድነ ፡ በእንተ ፡ አስተርእዮ[ተ] ፡ መለኮቱ ፡ በአም ጣነ ፡ ይክሉ ፡ [ይ]ርአይዎ ፡ ፍጡራን ፡ ወአኮ ፡ በ[ፍ]ጹም ፡ ግርጣ ፡ መለኮቱ ፡ ወኢ[ይ]ግበሩ ፡ ግብረ ፡ በበዐለ ፡ ኤጲ[ፋ]ንያ ፡ እስመ ፡ በይእቲ ፡ ዕለት ፡ አ[ስ]ተርአየ ፡ መለኮቱ ፡ ለክርስቶ[ስ] ፡ ወዓዲ ፡ ይቤ ፡ በስምዖን ፡ ቀ ነ[ና]ዊ ፡ ወያዕርፉ ፡ በዕለተ ፡ ተወለ[ጠ ፡] ራእዩ ፡ በደብረ ፡ ታቦር ፡ ወአስተ ርአየ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ወ[አ]ርአየነ ፡ ስብሔተ ፡ መለኮቱ ፡ ወርኢናሁ ፡ ንሕነ ፡ ሐዋርያት ፡ ሙሴ ፡ ወኤልያስ ፡ ይትናገርዎ ፡ ወካዕበ ፡ ይቤ ፡ በስም ዖን ፡ ቀነናዊ ፡ ወያዕርፉ ፡ በዕለተ ፡ ተወለጠ ፡ ራእዩ ፡ እስመ ፡ በደብረ ፡ ታቦ ር ፡ አስተርአየ ፡ እግዚእነ ፡ ክርስቶስ ፡ ወአርአየነ ፡ ስብሔተ ፡ መለኮቱ ፡ ወ ርኢናሁ ፡ ንሕነ ፡ ሐዋርያት ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሙሴ ፡ ወኤልያስ ፡ ወንሕነስ ፡ ንብል ፡ መለኮት ፡ ዘአብ ፡ ወወልድ ፡ መመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ፩ውእቱ ፡ ወበዕለተ ፡ ም ጽአቱሂ ፡ ያስተርኢ ፡ ገሃደ ፡ መለኮተ ፡ ሥላሴ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ኢይትፈለዋ ፡ ትስብአተ ፡ ወልድ ፡ እመለኮት ፡ ወእንዘ ፡ ኢይትሌለይ ፡ መለኮተ ፡ አብ ፡ ወመ ንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ እመለኮተ ፡ ወልድ ፡

f. 52^v ወለእሉስ ፡ ሰብእ ፡ ዕልዋን ፡ እለ ፡ ይብሉ ፡ ይመጽእ ፡ / ወልድ ፡ እንዘ ፡ ያስተርኢ ፡ በዐቅመ ፡ ተስብእቱ ፡ አብስ ፡ ወመንፈስ ፡ ቅዱስ ፡ ኢይት አመሩ ፡ ዘእንበለ ፡ በሕሊና ፡ እስመ ፡ ምሉአን ፡ እሙንቱ ፡ በኵለሂ ፡ ወ ኢያስተርእዩ ፡ ግሙራ ፡ ይርከቡኬ ፡ መክፈልተ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ኵሎሙ ፡ ረሲዓ ን ፡፡ እለ ፡ ይቀውሙ ፡ በፀጋሙ ፡ ምስለ ፡ ሰይጣን ፡ መልአኮሙ ፡ አሜን ፡ ወ ይበሎሙ ፡ ሓሩ ፡ እምኔየ ፡ ርጉጣን ፡ ውስተ ፡ እሳት ፡ ዘለዓለም ፡ አሜን ፡ አ ሜን ፡ ለይኩን ፡

²² MS ትእዘዘ"

III. Translation of the text: EMML 1480, ff. 48'-52"

f. 48r Reading for the 4th (of the month) of Torr*

In the name of God the Father who is not separated from the Son and the Holy Spirit, in the name of God the Son who is not separated from the Father and the Holy Spirit, and in the name of God the Holy Spirit, Paraclete, who is not separated from the Father and the Son.

All of us Christians were baptized by invoking these names of the Trinity in order to convert from being worldly into being heavenly, from being bodily into being spiritual, and from being children of Adam into being children of God because power is given to us, the faithful, to be children of God as John son of Thunder said in his holy Gospel, "But to all who received him, who believed in him, he gave power to become children of God, who believed in his name, who were not of the blood nor of the will of the lust of flesh nor of the pleasure of man but born from God" 1. With these names of the Trinity, we write a homily of John son of Thunder.

Homily of John the Apocalypt, homily of John the Theologus, seer of mysteries, who sat in the bosom of fire and was loved by him more than his brothers the Apostles, who deserved to feel with his hands the Son of God whom the Cherubim and the Seraphim cannot touch with (their) hands of fire. The same John said, "This was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen, which we have perceived and which our hands have felt"². And the Son of God, while on the cross, called John the son of his Mother Mary, because of his great love for him because of his virginity and the sanctity with which he himself rewarded him. Mary the Mother of God in the flesh of man, for whom the whole world cannot be even as much as the dust of her shoes, was called the Mother of John. She, whom the diligent of heaven stretch their wings of flame to cover, was called the mother of John by the mouth of her only Son because John received (more) favour than the others from the Lord Jesus. She, to whose twofold virginity — her virginity in mind and virginity in body — all creatures in heaven, on earth, under the earth, in the sea, and all that are in them subjugated themselves, was called the mother of John because John was beloved by her and by her Son more than the others. Blessed you are, O John, whose mother Mary your Lady was called; she did not bear you in flesh as she bore her only Son in her virginity without seed, but in love and thus was

^{*} This is the day on which St. John the Evangelist is commemorated in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. In today's calendar (1982), the 4th of *Torr* falls on the 12th of January.

¹ Cf., Jn. 1, 11-13.

² Cf., 1. Jn. 1, 1.

called your mother by the goodness of your Lord who loved you from the very beginning more than the others, (your Lord) who clasped you to his bosom at meal time. Furthermore, he did not decrease his love for you (even) at the time of * his passion; while he was nailed on the cross, he gave you his Mother as a refuge saying, "Behold your Son". To you, too, he said, "Behold your mother". Behold, we know that he loves you more than anyone else because to you alone he gave a refuge to his Mother at the time of his passion, while the sister of his Mother and Mary (mother) of Cleopas and Mary Magdalene were standing with you. O John, virgin and priest, come to us today and give us of the milk of your Gospel to drink. We seek you and inquire of you; tell us, what does it mean what you said in your Gospel, "No one has ever seen God; the only Son, who is in the bosom of his Father, told us". For on the basis of these word(s), Zämika'el, Gämaləyal and 'Aşqa said:

God has no form like man's. God did not create in his image and likeness the form of Adam's body, which is palpable and visible. The image of God and his likeness are an invisible spirit which was breathed upon Adam's face. As John said in his Gospel, "No one has ever seen God". Surely, God is invisible and has no form which man may know; he alone knows his image. The soul, too, has no form which man may know and so is invisible because it is the likeness of God.

But you, O John, you did not say that God has no form, as these do, but rather, "No one has ever seen God". Your words are true; no one has ever seen God in his perfect terrifying divinity. But the nature of his invisible divinity has form like man's. Because of the natural invisibility of his divinity, the pure Evangelist truly said, "No one has ever seen God". God himself said to Moses — when he said to him: "Show me your glory"⁶, — "You cannot see my face; for no man shall see my face and live"⁷. Paul, too, said about the nature of the divinity of our God which is invisible and unknown to people and to the angels: "God is invisible ever since the creation of the world. But he is perceived; we know him from his deed. However, he alone knows his Godhead so that they shall find nothing to argue with him"⁸. Furthermore, Paul said to Timothy, "Keep the commandment of God unstained until the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ who shall appear at the proper time, who alone is blessed and mighty, King of kings and Lord of lords and God of gods. In him there is light that shall not be extinguished

³ John 19, 26.

⁴ John 19, 27.

⁵ John 1, 18.

⁶ Ex. 33, 18.

⁷ Ex. 33, 20.

⁸ Cf., Rom. 1, 20.

which is from the time before the world, he, whom no man has ever seen or can see, to whom is glory and power for ever. Amen" The soul, too, has form like the form of its flesh; it is not formless.

Zämika'el said * before the King and the clergy of the Tabernacle (at the *f. 49r royal camp), "God has no form like the form of man". The King quoted from the Orit¹⁰, (the Books of) the Prophets, the Gospel and the Epistles. (showing) that God has a form like that of man for he created man in his image and likeness. Then the King said to Gämäləyal, "Now, judge between Us and Zämika'el on the basis of what you have heard". While (the following people) were listening: Qäsis hasäy¹¹ Zäkkarəyas; Sänarəg masäre¹² Täsfa Mäsgäl; Ligä däbtära 13 Bifamon; 'Aggabe Sä'at 14 Amməha Läsəyon; Gwetot zä-däbtära 15: Kirakos, Bähaylä Səyon, 'Amdä Mika'el, Zär'a Haymanot, Yohanni and his brother Barok; Gäbare Sännayat 16: Gäbrä Iyyäsus, Həzbä Anbäsa, Həzbä Səyon and Nä'ammən Bä'ab; G"etot zädivagonat 17: Tätämgä Mädhən, Täklä Iyyasus, Gäbrä Mänfäs Qəddus, Samu'el, Aybas (?), Ekä'ab (?), Zena Gäbrə'el, Gäd(d)ä Anbäsa and Bähaylä Giyorgis; all the deacons; all the clergy of the Tabernacle; the custodian(s) of the church: G"etot Krastos Hare and Fore Mäsqäl; from the Egyptians:

Yohannəs of Bärara 18 of the Monastery of Däbrä Estifanos 19 and Fädlällä 20

⁹ Cf., 1 Tim. 6, 14-16.

^{10 &}quot;The Law", or "Octateuch"; see Ro. 2, 18ff.,

¹¹ Father Confessor; found almost in every chronicle of Ethiopian Emperors.

¹² Probably another form for Sərag masäre; elsewhere, f. 109°: Sänargi ... and Zänargi ...

^{13 &}quot;Prevost of the Tabernacle", a title not known today.

^{14 &}quot;Time Keeper" for the Emperor's Schedules? Although he resides at the Emperor's camp apparently being in charge of ecclesiastical matters — he was the official head or abbot of the Monastery of Däbrä Hayq; for Ammeha Läseyon, see J. Perruchon (ed.) Les Chroniques de Zar'a Yâ'eqôb et de Ba'eda Mâryâm, Paris 1893, p. 7, and Taddesse Tamrat, "The Abbots of Däbrä-Hayq 1248-1535", Journal of Ethiopian Studies, vol. 8, no. 1 (1920), p. 108.

¹⁵ Presumably "Seniors of the *Däbtära* or the priests serving at the chapel of the Royal Camp, the Tabernacle.

¹⁶ Probably, "Social workers", according to the Sinodos, Täfäśśahu waludanä, no. 17, e.g. Cod. Borg. 2, f. 12^{rv}. For a descripțion of Cod. Borg. 2, see S. Grébaut and E. Tisserant, Codices Aethiopici Vaticani et Borgiani Barberinianus Orientalis 2 Rossianus 865, Bybliotheca Vaticani 1935, pp. 767-782.

¹⁷ Apparently "Senior deacons" comparable to *G* "etot zä-däbtära see n. 15 above. Tätämqä Mädhən is mentioned elsewhere as a witness against Gämaləyal who was accused by the Emperor of anti-Maryam heresy, Getatchew Haile, "A Preliminary", p. 218.

¹⁸ There were, apparently, two places by the same name one of which was a daughter church/monastery of Däbrä ∃stifanos, or else we have to assume that Yoḥannəs belonged equally to Bärara as well as Däbrä ∃stifanos. For the identity of Bärara one of which is in Amhara land like Ḥayq, see Ludolf, Historia Aethiopica, Frankfort, 1681, L.I.C.3; and I. Guidi (ed.) Annales Regis Iyásus I (Adyām Sagad), CSCO vol. 24, script. aeth., t. 7 (1961), p. 78; for Bärara in the south, see O. G. S. Crawford, Ethiopian Itineraries c. 1400-1524, Hakuyt Society, 1958, pp. 84-86.

¹⁹ Ḥayq.

[.] فضل الله 20

the Egyptian; ∃stifanos the *Nəburā əd* of Simäy [i.e. Šime/Šimäy] Yətbarāk the *Nəburā əd* of Wagi; and Fəre Kahən, the (choir) director of Däbrā Nägwadgwad²¹, Gämaləyal said, "I agree with Zämika'el as the Gospel said: 'No one has ever seen God'; whom shall I say he looks like, if no one has ever seen him?" The King said to him, "Do you abide by this statement?" He said to him, "Yes, I do". The King said, "Listen for me²², O clergy of the Tabernacle, that he may not deny". They said "We have heard". Then the King said:

Wasn't Christ incarnated? Wasn't he born in a perfect form of man? Didn't he grow up gradually to the size of perfect man? Didn't he bear passion for our sake? Wasn't he hit on the head with reeds? Wasn't he crucified on the cross? Wasn't he nailed by his hands and feet? Didn't he drink vinegar with gall? Didn't he taste death in flesh? Wasn't he pierced on his side with a spear? Wasn't he buried in * a tomb? Didn't he rise from the dead? Didn't he ascend to heaven? Didn't he sit on the right side of the Father? If the Son of God is sitting on the side of the Father in a perfect form of man, which he took from the perfect Virgin, do the forms of the Father and the Holy Spirit, who were not incarnated, resemble the perfect form of man which is manifested in the Son or they do not resemble it?

When Gämaləyal heard (this), he was terrified and was put to shame. He did not know how to reply to the King. The King added:

If you say, "They do not resemble it", you have alienated yourself from the (Christian) law and you are not allowed to enter into the church and take the body and blood of the incarnated Power because you added to the Trinity a form of a man that does not resemble the forms of the Father and the Holy Spirit; you (thus) became a member of the Quadrinitarians because you say in your mistaken thought which Satan produced from your heart, "In the form of his divinity, the Son resembles the Father and the Holy Spirit, but in his human form he does not resemble them". Behold, you made the only Son into two persons, about whom John the Evangelist, seer of mysteries and the Theologus, said, "And that word became flesh and dwelt in us and hid from us. We have beheld his glory, as the glory of one who is an only one for his Father" 23. Behold, you have alienated yourself from the Gospel of the Kingdom which invited the faithful to the wedding of the heavenly bride, which does not pass. Look for the Chalcedonians. who share your belief, to roll down with them into the depth of hell when the only Son shall say to them, "Depart from me, you cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for Satan and his angels" 24.

But we believe in and teach (his) Trinity in personification, without * addition, and unity in rulership, authority, reign and governorship, without separation. The Father has no form different from the form of man because he created man in his image and his likeness; the Son's form, too, is like that of the Father; and the form of the Holy

*f. 50^r

f. 49

²¹ Most probably the church built by Zär'a Ya'əqob, Perruchon, *Les Chroniques*, pp. 52-53 and 83-84.

²² I.e., "Be my witnesses".

²³ Cf., John 1, 14.

²⁴ Mat. 25, 41.

Spirit is like those of the Father and the Son. They are equal in hypostasis without infusion and wide without limitation. They look alike ²⁵; their light is one; their divinity is one; their kingdom is one; and their thought is one.

When the Son, one in the Trinity, willed to become a man for the salvation of the world, he did not dwell in another form but in the form of man which he created before in his image and likeness, so that what has been said in the Orit might be fulfilled, "And God said, Behold Adam has become like one of us"26. Behold, God foretold the union of the humanity with the divinity. John, too, said at the beginning of his Gospel 27, making (his) word agree with that of the Orit, "And the word became flesh" 28. Concerning (the fact) that God created the form of the palpable and visible body of Adam in his image and likeness, the holy Orit makes it known saying, "And God said, 'Let us make man in our image and likeness'"29. It also says, "So God created man in the likeness of God" 30. Furthermore, it says, to show that the form of the body of Adam which was created from the earth from the ground was the image and likeness of God, "And God made man of the earth from the ground"31. Behold, God called the form of the body of Adam, which he made from the earth from the ground, his image and likeness. Having created, he breathed on him, because it says, "He breathed into his face the breath of life; and he became a living being, through the spirit of life"32. To show that the form of the body of Adam, who was created with a soul of the blood that dies when his blood is shed when slain, is made after his form, God said in the Book of Jubilees, * "I shall demand the blood of man from everyone. He who sheds blood shall his blood be shed, because he created Adam in the form of God"33. The twelve Apostles, too, including Paul who is their partner, testified that every member of the body of man was formed after God's form, they said in their Didəsgələya³⁴, "Moreover, it is not proper that we shave our beard nor change the nature of man to another mode. If you do so, you alienate yourself from the (Christian) law and become far from God who created you in his image

*f 50

²⁵ Lit., "Their appearance is one".

²⁶ Gen. 3, 22.

²⁷ Lit., "book".

²⁸ Jn. 1, 14.

²⁹ Gen. 1, 26.

³⁰ Cf., Gen. 1, 27.

³¹ Gen. 2, 7.

³² Ibia

³³ Jub. 7, 13; according to G. Schodde (tr.), *The Book of Jubilees*, Oberlin, Ohio 1888, p. 22, it is in Jub. 6, 7; and to R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, vol. II, Oxford 1913, p. 21, Jub. 6, 7-8.

³⁴ The Ethiopic Didascalia.

and likeness"³⁵. And to show that the form of the body of man was formed after the image of God, Paul said in his first Epistle to the country of Corinth, "As for man, it is not right that he cover his head when he prays, for he is the likeness and image of God"³⁶.

Behold, the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments tell that the form of the body of man which can be seen and felt was formed after God's image which is hidden, invisible and impalpable. As for God in his natural divinity, no one has ever seen him in the glory of his divinity, as John son of Thunder said, "No one has ever seen God" 37. When speaking about the nature of the divinity of his Father whom no one has seen, the Son of God himself said, "No one has seen God the Father except him who is from God; he has seen the Father" 38. As for the form of man in which the Son was incarnated 39, he said — when Philip said, "Lord, show us the Father and that shall satisfy us", and when the Lord Jesus answered him — "Have I been with you so long and yet you do not know me, Philip? He who has seen me has seen my Father" 40.

Abandon, therefore, this teaching which you say, "The form of the body of Adam was not formed after God's". The form of the body of Adam *f. 51^r is the image and the likeness of God. Come, believing in one Faith * — Join us from the heart in one thought as the Apostle said, "And the end of everything is that you join heart in one thought"41. — let us invoke John the Evangelist saying in one voice: Come to us today, on your holy day, 0 John son of Thunder, John Theologus, John the Apocalypt, John the beloved of the Lord, the prophet and the seer of mysteries, John the virgin and the priest. Come to us today, this great day, your holy day, to grant your blessing on us who invoke you and who celebrate your commemoration. Come to us today to give us the bread of life, breaking with your holy hands and preparing the blood of the divinity, which give eternal life to him who eats it and drinks it as your Lord said, "He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day"42. (So said the Son) for whom be praise with his good Father and the Holy Spirit, from eternity to eternity. Amen.

³⁵ Introduction of the *Didasqalaya*; see Thomas Pell Platt (ed.), *The Ethiopic Didascalia*; or the Ethiopic Version of the Apostolical Constitutions Received in the Church of Abyssinia, London 1834, p. 7.

³⁶ Cf., 1 Cor. 11, 7.

³⁷ John 1, 18.

³⁸ Cf., John 6, 46.

³⁹ Lit., "which the Son put on".

⁴⁰ Jn. 14, 8-9.

⁴¹ Cf., 1 Pet. 3, 8.

⁴² John 6, 54.

Now let us come back to the earlier theme, to the heresy of Zämika'el, to refute him because he denied the person(s) of the Trinity. He said, "God has no form and man is not formed after God's". He said (this) in the foolishness of his heart in the prayer which he ordered in his church. When he sanctifies, he says three times, "Holy, holy, holy", as he heard (it) from (the Books of) the Prophets who (so) wrote, having heard when the angels sanctify the Holy Trinity three times. But he himself does not believe in the trinity of the Trinity in person(s) and form(s), but he denies the Holy Trinity who said, "Let us make man in our image and likeness" 43, so that we may know that we were created after God's form. But Zämika'el the heretic, denying God's form which is manifested in man, said, "He should not be likened to the image of creatures". Furthermore, denying the person(s) of the Trinity, he said, "It is impossible to personify (the Trinity)".

If God has no form, after whose form did the Son of God dwell in the womb of the Virgin? And after whose form did he take 44 the form of man? If the form of the divinity of the Son of God is different from that of his humanity, and if the form(s) of the divinity and humanity of the Son of God are not united, * as Zämika'el the heretic says, behold, a fourth form, (that) of humanity, is added on the Trinity. As for us, the children of teaching of the Prophets and the Apostles, we say:

He first created Adam at the ancient time in the form of his divinity, in his image and likeness. When he willed to be incarnated, he took from Mary the form of man which he earlier made in his image and likeness and became one hypostasis in his divinity and humanity.

As for making Adam in his image and likeness from the four elements, listen to what is said in the book of Maccabees, "He took (a piece) from the earth from the ground with his holy hands and mixed (it with) water, fire and wind and created Adam in his own image and likeness" ⁴⁵. The Son of God took that same image and likeness, which he created with his hands from the four elements, from Mary, with a spirit of life that speaks and reasons. In the same image and likeness — body, blood, bone, hair and tendon — he ascended into the heavens and sat on the right side of his Father who resembles him in image and form, as Paul said to the Philipians, "This is the image of the person of God" ⁴⁶. As for us, we believe that the form of the Father, the form of the Son and the form of the Holy Spirit are each in its own person. He created us, too, in his image and likeness. Glory to him from eternity to eternity. Amen.

⁴³ Gen. 1, 26.

⁴⁴ Lit., "put it on", i.e., "was incarnated",

⁴⁵ III Macc. 4, 10.

⁴⁶ Cf., Phil. 2, 6.

Zämika'el, the heretic, also said, with 'Asqa the traitor, 'The Son shall come in the appearance of his incarnation; but the Father and the Holy Spirit shall neither appear nor be known but in mind'. They say this placing the Father and the Holy Spirit higher than the Son, not understanding that the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit are equal without separation and full without lack. But we believe in the coming of the Son with his Father and his Holy Spirit to judge the living and the dead, as Our Lord said through Matthew * the Evangelist, "You will see the Son of man seated at the right side of Power and coming with the cloud(s) of heaven" He also said, through Mark the Evangelist, "Behold, you will see the Son of man seated at the right side of Power and coming with the cloud(s) of heaven" He also said through Luke the Evangelist, "As of now, you will see the Son of man seated at the right side of the Power of God" 49.

And concerning the appearance of the divinity of Christ, these heretics say, condemning their heart, "As for the divinity, it shall never appear but only the body which (Christ) took from us will". They teach this to the children of the Church pretending that they understand the Scriptures because the eyes of their heart are struck with the dust of the mistakes of Satan, so that they may neither see nor perceive what is said in the Sinodos, order 66, in Täfässəhu wəludənä 50, concerning the appearance of his divinity, (how) the creatures shall see him as much as they can, and not in his perfect divine majesty, "Let them not do any work on the holy day of Epiphany because on this day appeared the divinity of Christ". And it says also in Səm'on Qänänawi⁵¹, "Let them rest on the day in which he was transfigured on Mount Tabor; Our Lord Christ appeared and showed us the glory of his divinity; and we, the Apostles, saw him, Moses and Elijah talking with him" 52. Furthermore, he said in Səm'on Qänänawi 53, "Let them rest on the day in which he was transfigured because Our Lord Christ appeared on Mount Tabor and showed us the glory of his divinity; and we, the Apostles, saw him with Moses and Elijah" 54. As for us, we say:

The divinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit is one. And on the day of his (second) coming, the divinity of the Holy Trinity will appear, the humanity of the Son

⁴⁷ Mt. 26, 64.

⁴⁸ Mk. 14, 62.

⁴⁹ Cf., Lk. 22, 69.

^{50 &}quot;Rejoice our children", *incipit* of the section in the *Sinodos*, the Ethiopic *Synodicon*, where the article quoted here is found; see, for example, Cod. Borg. 2, f. 44^{rv}.

^{51 &}quot;Simon Cananaeus", *incipit* of the section of the quotation in the *Sinodos*, more precisely: Śər'atä kəhnät zä-Səm'on Qänänawi.

⁵² Śər'atä kəhnät zä-Səm'on Qänänawi, no. 8, Cod. Borg. 2, f. 96^r.

⁵³ The *incipit Səm'on Qänänawi*, "Simon Cananaeus" is usually preserved for the section of the *Sinodos* from which the following quotation comes, see n. 54 below.

⁵⁴ Səm'on Qänänawi, no. 4, Cod. Borg. 2, f. 77r.

unseparated from divinity, and the divinity of the Father and the Holy Spirit undifferentiated from that of the Son.

For this reason, we believe in the coming of the Son with his Father and his Holy Spirit to judge the living and the dead and there shall be no end to his reign 55. May he reward our Messiah, Zär'a Ya'əqob, whose regal name is Qwåstäntinos, with a standing on his right side with all the blessed of his Father, with all of us, his army, who kept his commandments. May he [= Zär'a Ya'əqob] bring us forward as a present to the Holy Trinity, our God, when the glory of his kingdom appears and is raised high over us then, too, as it is now. May what is said, "Blessed is he who has a seed in Sion and houses in Jerusalem" 56, be fulfilled on him. Amen.

f. 52 As for those heretics who say * that of the Son shall come appearing in his human capacity but the Father and the Holy Spirit shall not be known but in mind because they are full everywhere and shall, therefore, never appear, may they receive a share with all the wicked who shall stand on his left side with Satan their angel. Amen. May he say to them, "Depart from me, you cursed, into the eternal fire" 57. Amen. Amen. May it so be.

⁵⁵ Cf., Nicene Creed.

⁵⁶ Cf., Isa. 31, 9.

⁵⁷ Mat. 25, 41.